

"WITHDRAW MY NAME!" WOODROW WILSON TWICE ORDERED, BUT M'COMBS REFUSED, AND CHANGED COURSE OF HISTORY

EARLY Friday, June 28, I was apprised that Senator William J. Stone, manager for Champ Clark, had sent a telegram to Governor Wilson at Sea Girt, insisting that he withdraw. The message urged that never in the history of the Democratic party had a Democratic candidate, receiving a majority of the votes in a convention, failed of a nomination. The Missourian argued that it was useless for Governor Wilson to continue in the field and that his nomination was impossible. Therefore, it was his patriotic duty to quit.

The moment I learned of the Stone message I called up Governor Wilson. He admitted having received the Stone telegram, and added:

"Governor Stone's logic is correct. You are authorized to withdraw my name from further consideration."

I begged the Governor, if only to protect his supporters, to abandon such an idea. I pleaded that thousands of members of his party had risked their political and financial lives for him. He owed it to them to stick as long as they would stick.

The Governor seemed obdurate and I rang off. About 2 a. m. Saturday, I was sitting alongside of Chairman James, on the convention hall platform. Walker W. Vick handed me a message. It had come by phone to our headquarters at the Hotel Emerson, and had been relayed from there.

I did not inspect the message promptly enough to suit Vick. He begged to read the paper.

It was another message from Governor Wilson. It again insisted that I take him out of the race. He specifically directed me to release the delegates who had been voting for him.

I was thoroughly enraged. I felt that if loyal Wilson men were willing to fight to the last for the Governor, he, at least, might maintain his nerve and stand with them. I also had an abiding faith that he was to be nominated, though Clark still had a majority, but not the necessary two-thirds.

Turning to Vick, I said: "The Governor wants to withdraw!"

"You won't let him now, will you?" inquired Vick. "You bet your life I won't!" I answered. "Not a word about this to anyone."

I tucked the Governor's instructions into my pocket. They remained there until the convention nominated him.

That act of itself made history, for which I hope to be forgiven. Had the contents of that message become noised about that convention hall, Woodrow Wilson would never have been President of the United States. There would have been a stampede to Clark, and he and not Wilson would have been nominated.

My position was that Governor Wilson was not through until he was "knocked out." He owed it to his friends, if not to himself, to remain in the fight until the finish.

I had known Governor Wilson to be subject to frequent panics and overweening pride. I learned from many experiences, that he was the boldest man when victory was near and the fastest runner when defeat loomed.

When we lost the Illinois primaries by an overwhelming majority to Champ Clark, Governor Wilson, in alarm, dispatched a Princeton professor to me. He said:

"The Governor feels it is useless for him to remain longer in

the field. He authorizes me to say to you that he wishes to withdraw from the contest for the Presidential nomination. He desires to do this gracefully now, so as to avoid the humiliation of defeat."

My reply was: "My good professor, please tell the Governor that you saw me, and that I said that he should consider others than himself." I never heard from the professor again.

When the Governor passed Clark and secured a majority of the delegates himself, he called me on the 'phone and said: "I was wrong and you were right. My eternal gratitude to you. You knew the situation. I did not. I shall never forget your loyalty and your courage."

THUS, in the background of the stirring scenes at Baltimore, transpired two simple incidents that bolstered Mr. McCombs' justification in writing his autobiography which carries the popular title, "How I Made Woodrow Wilson President."

If he had acceded to either the telephone or telegraph request from Sea Girt, Wilson never would have been nominated.

It is a secret chapter of political history that may well fascinate the public. Students of history can conjecture boundlessly on "What Might Have Been." Champ Clark, the War President; Wilson, of course, not at the Paris Peace Conference, and the development of international relations along lines far different from that confronting the world today.

You will read further along in the autobiography Mr. McCombs' account of what Mr. Wilson said to him the day after his election: "Mr. McCombs, I wish it clearly understood that I owe you nothing."

Archibald B. Watson, Fire Commissioner Joseph F. Johnson, and other members of the Gaynor cabinet were on the job, doing their utmost to break into the Empire State and other delegations.

GAYNOR'S BOOM ALARMING.

They had greatly impressed William J. Bryan that Gaynor could at least be used to defeat Clark. They were almost incessantly prodding Mr. Murphy with the argument that neither Clark nor Wilson could be nominated, and that here was his chance to name a New Yorker.

McCombs sought to block the Gaynor movement with pleas that the mayor's democracy was of a dubious brand. As an aspirant for judicial and mayoralty honors, he had demanded support from the most implacable enemies of the party. He had, after his election, refused to fulfill his contracts with the organization that nominated him.

In proof of this, Mr. McCombs produced a list of appointments of the "mugwump" stamp, and another list of loyal Democrats who, as applicants for office, had been denied preferment of any sort.

Early Sunday morning, Mr. McCombs discovered that Senator Stone, the Clark field marshal, was still conniving to force the withdrawal of all "trailers." That is, he was planning to put out of the race Underwood, Harmon, Baldwin, and other aspirants and bring their supporters in a bunch to Clark.

Thomas F. Ryan was found trying to deliver his Underwood men to Clark. Ohio delegates pledged to Harmon were being importuned to desert him, while Homer Q. Cummings had been approached to withdraw the governor of Connecticut and line up with the Missourian.

McCombs put Roger Sullivan to work on the Virginians, who stuck to Underwood, and the Ohioans, who held on for Harmon. He also induced Edmund H. Moore, manager for Harmon, to withhold as many Harmon men as he could control from Clark.

Newton D. Baker, too, aided in preserving the integrity of the Harmon forces so far as Clark invasions were concerned, and helped to pick off a few delegations from the Buckeye State for Wilson.

Meantime all the managers were being besought to "stake" impoverished delegates who were threatened with being dispossessed of their lodgings and denied food. McCombs, Stone, Francis, Bankhead, and others were constantly importuned to furnish means for room rent and victuals. Threats were made by many delegates that if they were not given funds they would board the first train for their homes.

WILSON AHEAD FIRST TIME.

Managers for all the candidates had to put up large sums of money to hold proprietors of votes in Baltimore for at least another twenty-four or forty-eight hours. They turned their pockets inside out and borrowed right and left to ameliorate the demands of sleepy, hungry delegates.

Despite all the Sunday exertions of Mr. McCombs and his associates, the initial ballot (27) on Monday was intensely disappointing. Wilson got but 406½—a loss of one since Saturday night. Clark held 469, which had been cast for him on the twenty-fifth.

On the twenty-eighth ballot, however, Wilson suddenly gained a block of thirty. Only one came from Clark, the others were deserters from Harmon, Underwood and Baldwin.

On the thirtieth, Wilson jumped into the lead for the first time. His supporters shouted in glee.

As the clerk called: "Wilson, 460; Clark, 455," the band struck up "Glory, Glory Hallelujah!" The Pennsyl-

vania delegates, led by Palmer and Guffey, chanted:

"Pennsyl, Pennsyl, Pennsylvania!
"Pennsyl, Pennsyl, Pennsylvania!
"Pennsyl, Pennsyl, Pennsylvania!
"We'll vote for Wilson too!"

Counting on Wilson leaping to the van on the thirtieth, McCombs rushed over to Roger Sullivan and begged: "Now, Roger, make good. You promised that Illinois would come in on the twenty-sixth. Get a move on!"

But Mr. Murphy and Mr. Taggart had seen Sullivan since McCombs had. They had persuaded him to "hold off" for awhile.

On the thirty-first, Wilson scored 475½ and Clark 446½. The thirty-second chalked up 477½ for Wilson and 447½ for Clark.

On the thirty-fifth, Wilson increased his total to 494½.

CLARK'S STRENGTH WANES

Clark got 433½, the lowest number received by him during the convention.

During this ballot, Florida, which had been solidly for Underwood, threw two votes for Wilson. This break, which McCombs had engineered over Sunday, caused Governor Gilchrist to leap upon a chair and shout:

"Florida was instructed for Underwood. Any delegate who violates those instructions commits a dishonorable act!"

McCombs had seen to it that Senator James A. O'Gorman, an ardent Wilsonite, had become substitute for Chairman Ollie James, when the latter had all but collapsed through fatigue.

"The unit rule has been abolished. Each delegate is at liberty to vote for whom he pleases," was the rebuking edict of the acting chairman.

Wilson voters greeted this with thunderous cheers.

McCombs walked over to the Wilson contingent of the New York delegation, whose block of ninety was still being cast for Clark, and implored them to follow the example of their Florida brethren. He also appealed to Chairman Murphy to release such of his delegates as wished to vote for Wilson.

"If the caucus agrees, all right. The caucus will decide!" was Murphy's response.

But no caucus other than those yet held was called, and New York, continued to have her entire delegation cast for Clark.

Senator James having returned to the chair, Senator Stone insisted that he reverse the ruling of Senator O'Gorman that no unit rule prevailed. James answered this by declaring a break of one to Wilson in the Colorado delegation to be in accordance with the convention mandate.

Iowa, on the thirty-ninth ballot, joined the Wilson procession. This put the New Jersey Governor's total at 501 for the first time.

When, on the forty-second ballot Ohio registered nineteen for Wilson and it looked as if Wilson might appropriate the whole forty-eight on the forty-third, the Clark managers sprang another adjournment resolution.

It was nearly 1 a. m. Tuesday. Delegates were exhausted and hungry. No power could hold them in their seats. So they voted by 781 to 260 to adjourn until Tuesday noon.

Though Clark managers boasted that the adjournment was still another victory for them, it proved the undoing of the former Speaker of the House.

(Editor's Note—After the forty-third ballot on the ninth day of the Democratic National Convention, 1912, Roger Sullivan, Democratic boss of Illinois, kept the compact he had previously entered into with McCombs to cast the majority of the Illinois vote for Woodrow Wilson whenever it appeared likely that such a change in the Illinois vote might start a stampede in the convention from Champ Clark to Woodrow Wilson. On this forty-third ballot Roger Sullivan

switched forty Illinois votes from Clark to Wilson.

"Sullivan was hugged and cheered and kissed by the Wilson devotees. A Champ Clark leader shouted in the open convention, 'What did you get for it, Roger?'"

The stampede, thus started, turned many wavering delegates, the result of the ballot being:

Wilson 612
Clark 329

Champ Clark had previously had a majority of the entire convention, but a two-thirds vote was required to nominate him. Not before in eighty years had a candidate who obtained a majority of the Democratic National Convention failed of the nomination.

The forty-sixth and final ballot of the convention which nominated Woodrow Wilson for President stood:

Wilson 890
Clark 84
Harmon 25
Underwood 12
Foss 27

The nomination of Wilson was then made unanimous.

After the nomination Mr. McCombs, who had slept less than two hours a night ten consecutive nights, went to bed so exhausted that he could not sleep for hours.

Mr. McAdoo left immediately for Sea Girt, where Governor Wilson was. Mr. McAdoo immediately began to organize the National Committee to secure his own election as chairman.

He might have succeeded if Judge Hudspeth, of New Jersey; Mack, of New York; Josephus Daniels, of North Carolina; Senator Ollie James, of Kentucky; Senator Kern and Tom Taggart, of Indiana, and other strong Wilson men, had not told Governor Wilson that "but for McCombs, either Champ Clark, W. J. Bryan, or an unknown, would have been nominated at Baltimore, and not Woodrow Wilson."

M'COMBS RECOVERING FROM ILLNESS FINDS M'ADOO LEVYING ON HIS POLITICAL ASSETS, AND ORDERS THE USURPER FROM HIS POST

CHAPTER II.
[McCombs-McAdoo Quarrel as Campaign Begins—McAdoo Ignores Commander in Selecting Headquarters Force—"Beat Roosevelt!"—Directs McCombs, as He Fails Ill—Recovers to Find McAdoo Levying on His Political Assets—Orders McAdoo from His Pre-empted Post, After Being Informed of Alleged Labels Carried to Wilson—Nominates Fails as Peace-maker.]

THE popular vote-getting campaign for Wilson began auspiciously on the surface. But bickerings inside the camp were constant. William H. Taft had been renominated for President by the reactionary Republicans. Progressives had bolted the convention and nominated Theodore Roosevelt, who had twice been President.

McCombs' plan was, of course, to keep the Republicans split. He was convinced from the outset that Taft was hopelessly out of the running. It was Roosevelt who must be beaten in order to elect Wilson. Mr. McCombs, therefore, concentrated his efforts to wearing Progressives away from Roosevelt as well as Taft. Roosevelt was posing as the only Progressive. McCombs saw to it that Wilson was presented to the voters as even more of a Progressive than Roosevelt.

Of course, the national committee had to have headquarters.

McAdoo Reprimanded.

Chairman McCombs authorized Vice Chairman McAdoo to lease headquarters in the Fifth Avenue Building, Broadway and Twenty-third street, New York City. McAdoo did this. Without consulting McCombs he engaged a numerous staff. Among them K. B. Conger, who had been associated with Mc-

Adoo in his Hudson terminal enterprise. Inspecting the payroll one day, McCombs discovered that Conger was down for a weekly salary of \$160, and Byron E. Newton, afterward collector of the port of New York, for \$120 a week.

McCombs had been "scratching gravel" to get enough money to pay headquarters rent.

"What are these men doing for their fancy salaries?" demanded McCombs of McAdoo.

"Conger leased headquarters for us and is acting as superintendent. Newton is working at Sea Girt, N. J., with Walter Measday at the Wilson publicity bureau. He volunteered," was McAdoo's reply.

"Get rid of both," directed McCombs. "Conger is useless. I fired Newton months ago."

McAdoo carried Newton's case to the Presidential nominee and he was retained. Conger is said to have continued to draw \$160 a week for the remainder of the campaign, though McAdoo and Treasurer Rollo Wells had many a dispute about it.

McAdoo entered the room which he had reserved for himself prior to his physical collapse. McAdoo was swinging about in his revolving chair, giving orders to subordinates of his own selection.

Regarding McCombs, as if he were a spectre, McAdoo asked: "How are you feeling, Bill? Why did you come back until you were completely recovered?"

"I am here to resume command and you will please vacate my desk," said McCombs.

McAdoo obeyed. McCombs fell into his old chair and summoned Treasurer Rollo Wells, Chairman Henry Morgenthau of the Finance Committee, Chairman Joseph Daniels of the Publicity Bureau, Secretary Joseph E. Davis and Assistant Secretary Walter W. Vick.

"I desire to see these gentlemen alone," said McCombs as he glanced at McAdoo. McAdoo departed.

McCombs then learned additional details about McAdoo changing his campaign plans and rearranging the office force. Rollo Wells reported the treasury all but empty.

Dismisses McAdoo.

Wilson as Pacifier.

McCombs Collapses.

Just then, however, Chairman McCombs opened a letter from a North Carolina friend. It inclosed a check for \$54.66, the proceeds of the final bale of cotton sold by him that fall.

"We are not broke yet, Rollo!" observed McCombs in glee. "But we shall have to dig somewhere or we shall be broke."

Just as Chairman McCombs was about to start for Sea Girt to get a decision from Governor Wilson as between him and McAdoo, the governor suddenly appeared in New York. He called upon McCombs. At the conclusion of the interview Governor Wilson said:

"There is no friction between Mr. McCombs and Mr. McAdoo. It was necessary for Mr. McCombs to have a short rest. Mr. McCombs is one of the most indomitable men I ever knew. There is a sacrifice that no one can accept from any man. That is his health. Mr. McCombs is much stronger and will continue to perform his duties as chairman of the National Committee."

NEXT SUNDAY—Wilson elected by an unprecedented plurality—O'Gorman proclaims, "This boy, McCombs, did it."—President-elect wires his "thanks"—"I owe you nothing! It was ordained of God that I should be President," said Wilson to McCombs when actually elected—Ignores all National Committee recommendations for appointments—Names Bryan, McAdoo, Tamm, et al., despite protests of those who won for him—McCombs' side thrown into the waste basket—Hicks picks whom he pleases.

Architects Are Ruined By Building Slump All Over England

LONDON, Sept. 3.—"Scores of architects who before the war were earning more than \$10,000 a year are now glad to accept office jobs at \$20 a week."

This remarkable statement was made by one of the leaders of the profession in London.

"I know one young member of the profession," he continued, "who, despairing of finding employment, is now making women's girdles, which he sells to fashionable dressmakers. Another is designing and manufacturing fancy articles in leather."

"I believe architects have been harder hit than members of any other profession by the widespread distress and unemployment."

Sir Banister Fletcher, the famous architect, agreed with this view. "I have encountered hundreds of young men who can scarcely eke out a bare existence from the profession," he said. "Many have been badly hit by the scrapping of the ministry and health's housing plans. I think, however, that the dropping of the government's financial proposals may do some good in the end, as it will lead to an increased desire to build on the part of individual members of the public, and so help to provide a reasonably lucrative private practice for a certain number of architects."

"This cannot happen until the cost of labor and materials has decreased," said Sir Banister Fletcher. "Meanwhile, like everybody else, we must wait patiently for better days."

Small Coal Miners Expose the Big Ones Who Pay Low Wages

TOPEKA, Kan., Sept. 3.—The much-talked-about Kansas industrial court is puzzling over what appears to be an economical enigma. The problem that the court is trying to solve is why the small coal mining companies of this State, paying high wages to employes and operating on a small scale, are able to sell coal at \$1 less a ton than the big operators, paying their men small wages.

In an investigation of coal mining operations in the State, carried on by the industrial court, it was revealed that the small mining companies, despite a greater marketing cost, and higher wages paid their employes, are able to show a margin of profit with a total cost of production of \$3.60 per ton, while the larger operators, with greater marketing facilities, and lower wages, claim a minimum production cost of \$4.60 a ton.